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Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

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Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

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Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

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The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110:

"While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanaes, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

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175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants
withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land
joined together and marched against his people, put them
to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various
directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their
way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to
escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous
that the fields were covered with them. He himself was
among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees
stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled
there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the
Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them.
He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with
those who decided to continue their march. On the way they
were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed
them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and,
slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country
of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long
time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual,
they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked
whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds
must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more,
nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to
him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to con-
tinue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which
could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned
also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these
villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one
could get there in five days and great provisions would be found
there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

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cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaíess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

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"The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapiti Chiriguano and Chané who were living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text Continues on p. 51]

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they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

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brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. 1, pp: 259-260.)

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Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapui when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

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The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves; they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves; these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water; they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Pampiti where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1745 we see the

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these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guaraní invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

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17 /398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical Instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the *quena* or end flute (pl. 43, bottom) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and *sereres*, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, d). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapetí River.

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of *chicha* are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize *chicha* is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

175 /73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the
648 discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the
[31] area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders
[61] of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575
in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take
charge of the territory; the Chiriguano lived in the areas
around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely
to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to
invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia
ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might
serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new
attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding
to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the
Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of
January 22, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered
the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the
Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places
conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were
greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a
great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to
his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found
belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been
forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano,
who had doubtless made him their victim.

• [727] Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of
the Chiriguano, they were a torment of the surrounding
tribes, the members of whom they shot with arrows, or
killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest
slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it
out with enemies superior to themselves; fearing that some
day they would have to pay for the casualties which they
had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose
fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like
the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have
[i.e., the Chiriguano. -Analyst]

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648 Gũracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Gũracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

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648 The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gũracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

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594 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

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In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Gũiracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Irenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

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1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunpa, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunpa took charge of the military operations.

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Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuru, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igũipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Gũiracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subalterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Igũembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Igũembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

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History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguano or Chirihuanos, cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of Curuyuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapfi with great cruelty; according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

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I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense; they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

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Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveáu of Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission; against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites; against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty; and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Gũiracoti with regard to Yaveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Gũiracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

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My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

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March and Inspection

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Finally they take leave of their families, telling them to be very careful not to go far from the town. The cacique gives his instructions to the men who stay behind on guard; the women once more tell their husbands to fight like brave men and to bring back the heads of their enemies in order to drink chicha from their skulls, and then, in perfect order, the march of the army toward the place of combat begins. They say that the cacique does not carry arms and that his presence only serves for giving orders that they promptly execute without losing any time (1).

1. If the cacique were seen to be attacked or surrounded by the enemy, his soldiers, especially the cavalry, would come quickly and boldly to his defense.

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The combat is never begun by day or late at night, but in the early morning. For this reason, before the soldiers depart, they calculate the distance and the time that it may take to cover it. In order not to be seen or heard, they go through the woods, if there are any, and try to arrive at night at a certain distance from the enemy town. They make their camp at a distance of four or five cuerdas and wait for the dawn, in order to be able to enjoy their triumph, the pillaging and other ensuing things, by the light of day, or to be able to beat an orderly retreat in case of defeat (2).

2. Nobody in the town discovers the proximity of the enemy, because the Indians do not go out of their town after midnight, and the invading horsemen with their horses stay at a suitable distance so that the horses will not give them away with their neighing.

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Combat and Pillaging

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Finally, the infantrymen get in the center, the horsemen on both sides, and the queremba in front, because they must always be the first to be wounded. Matters thus arranged, facing /278/ the enemy, still in bed, the invading army moves forward at a trot, and when it has come as far as some 100 meters from the town, the infantrymen and horsemen set out at full speed, they pound the horns, porongos, senene, and igüiramimbi, all the soldiers raise an infernal shout and sow confusion in the little town. The inhabitants, losing no time, take up arms and come out to fight with courage. The women, children, and dogs add to the confusion and run in terror to hide if they can. Meanwhile the combat is terrible and bloody on every side, the invaders fight with tenacity for victory, and those invaded, for their own defense, for that of their wives, children, and property. They fall, some run through by an arrow, others opened by a lance, those seriously wounded and dragged by their long hair, these trampled by the horses of the cavalrymen, who charge the unfortunate ones without pity or mercy (1).

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1. Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of 40 or 50 families, and therefore the combat could not last for many hours, since those invaded were in addition taken by surprise.

In a few minutes the little plaza and the streets are full of dead and wounded. Some of the cavalrymen detain the fleeing children and women and prevent the flight of the defenders, who--a few of them--have been trying to give up the unequal fight. The fight is over before the sun appears. If the number of defenders is quite low, the invading cacique stops the battle and orders the killing of the few survivors, without concerning himself with those who have already fled.

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727 Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break all the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any for fear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of the women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burns until it is reduced to ashes.

[203] As soon as victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique orders that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, so that the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chicha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduced to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and children, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers lopped from their victims some heads of the men killed in the combat, which will serve as trophies of war.

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After the Victory

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857 The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are first fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances: they insult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the little boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tired of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attention with their shouting and games. They are thus very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children are doing (1).

1. After or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chabuco, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

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727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

797 The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do
727 not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them. They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerors, who would put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing. The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start
[525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or
[437] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The
[438] sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerors, but in others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what is asked for them.

/280 cont./

080 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
784 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722 1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the
533 writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary
535 of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work
197 that, before the fighting began and during it,
women and maidens come out to the plaza and
in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré.
This song and dance must have originated
among the Toba, who at that time were numerous
in the Gran Chaco region, "because in the Ivu
region and other regions they scarcely know
the name of the Aré aré, and not all share
in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in
no combat which has occurred to the north,
south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been
danced and sung.

726 During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was in-
727 vaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength,
were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then
and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women
who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes
to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre
are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they
cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow
with tears (2).

726 2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of
Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in
Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they
[648] attacked the mission, from which it can be
concluded that their hate was against the whites,
and concomitantly against the Indians who were

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helping them in the town and against the missionary who had brought them.

Peace

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Every time a war between Chiriguano ends, those who got the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably to promoting hostilities. The conquerors readily accept the overtures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which, if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it, that is, they excuse the defeat suffered through some trick, but from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Iru, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

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When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's war /282/ against Gũracoti, both regions try to have an equal number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and querembas; otherwise it would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat. Gũracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled from Yaveau, who pursued him with all his men (1).

1. The cacique Yaveau in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

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643 When a regional campaign has ended, the caciques involved, with the intervention of others who did not take part in the struggle, try to re-establish peace, because although the Chiriguano is rather warlike and proud, he is also just as peaceful and desirous of living quietly in his home. Hence it is quite easy for peace to be accepted by both parties, and it is sealed with a general fiesta, first in the town of the defeated cacique and then in that of the victorious cacique. All the great and important people of both regions and of the regions which have taken part in the friendly arrangements come together at these fiestas, and even then they do not turn to talk of the stormy time, except to anathematize the one who, according to them, was to blame for so much anguish; little importance is given to the words of the women (2).

(648)

2. As the Curuyuki war was against the whites and since the latter triumphed and pursued them to the death, there could not be any party afterward, but in time friendly relations were renewed between the Indians of Iva and Santa Rosa, and to this day they continue in perfect harmony, because they live with the help of the missionary whom the Iva people had asked for previously.

Then each regional cacique enjoins his men not to disturb public peace again, and these in turn make speeches to their subalterns at night about the advantages of peace, and both caciques shake hands, promising to decide matters in a friendly fashion in any future disagreement which might arise between the two regions, but sometimes the opposite happens, because the victor finds it hard to yield, considers himself superior, and does not know that negotiations are preferable.

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728 Finally, each one returns to his town satisfied, the repair of the destroyed houses is ordered immediately; the time of general planting comes, and they all report to work peacefully in order to have abundance once again and with their hopes based on being able to enjoy in time the fruit of the little sweat that falls, to their own advantage and that of their family.

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177 the ceramics of the tribes here dealt with. The ceramic art we find among the Chiriguano and Chané is, as we saw, strongly influenced by the culture-zone in the west. There is a great similarity, as I said, to the pottery that has been found in the Humahuaca Valley. It is especially the finely painted pottery which, in shape and ornamentation, recalls the pottery of the culture-zone in the west. The simple cooking-pots ornamented with finger-impressions more closely resemble what is found in the old Guaraní territory in Misiones. The main difference is that the pots used by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with ears (handles), which as a rule are lacking in the pottery from Misiones. The ear, as I mentioned, is a western culture-element. I think the explanation may be, that when the Chiriguano conquered the districts they now occupy, their own women generally or always made earthenware with finger-impressed ornamentation. As we know, the immigrant Chiriguano carried off masses of women, presumably from Chané for the most part, but probably also from other tribes. The women abducted from the parts bordering on the old kingdom of the Incas were no doubt skilful potters, and afterwards taught their art to their daughters. It is this that now continues in the finer pottery, especially in the vessels used at great drinking-bouts.

It is very evident, as we see, that the Chiriguano and Chané pottery has been strongly under the influence of the culture-area in the west. It would be of great interest to show how far it has also been influenced by the Arawak pottery at Mojos. This cannot, however, be conclusively proved. Not even among the Chané at Rio Parapiti can any such influence be traced. This is probably because it is so long since the Chané migrated to their present district.

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[184] It may be asked how it is that the Chané at Rio Parapiti have pottery which is plainly less influenced by the mountain civilization than that of the Chiriguano and the

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XXIV

Trophies.

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[527] We know from several writers¹⁾ that the Chiriguano used to keep the heads of their beaten enemies as trophies. According to what a Chané Indian named Batirayu told me, the Chané used to bring home the heads of slain enemies. At festivals these were put up on the «square» in the villages. Thanks to FRIEDERICI we have a fine work on scalping in America to which I beg to refer. It is, at present, impossible to say whence the Chiriguano and Chané obtained this custom.

¹⁾ See PASTELLS P. 30; CORRAO P. 46.

XXV.

Property Marks.

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177 In part I (Map 34) I have already written about the geographic distribution of such marks. They belong to the cultural elements that these Indians probably got from the culture zone in the west.

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Chané) wandered south along the Andes to parts where no dense primeval forests hampered communications. This is always on the presumption that they were not forced southward by other tribes, which may possibly have been the case.

The question may naturally suggest itself, 'How was it possible for the Chiriguano, if they did not establish themselves in their present habitat until the beginning of the 16th century, to have learnt so much from the bronze age culture in the west, which began to decay a few years later?' They did not do so by direct intercourse with this culture, but learnt it from the original inhabitants of those districts, who were for a long time under the influence of that culture. The Chiriguano conquerors were presumably very few in number, compared with the original inhabitants, who most likely had long been under the influence of the bronze age culture. The conquerors adopted the culture of the original inhabitants, these the language of the conquerors.

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané is evidently an offshoot of the Mountain culture, their textile industry has been strongly influenced by it. The most important domestic industries of these Indians are woman's work, and it is probable that kidnapped women have here been the intermediary agents of culture. When the Chiriguano conquered the parts they now occupy, they did so, to a great extent at least, from the Chané.¹⁾ They then kidnapped a great number of women from these Indians. After being admitted into the tribe, the women taught their skill to their offspring. Being culturally much above their husbands, they would no doubt have a great influence on them.

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¹⁾ See NORDENSKIÖLD (13).

/6 cont. /

174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
 175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
 167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
 648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
 C after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
 [101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after
 their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the
 Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the
 foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out
 by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only
 a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through
 which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
 [173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
 [648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great
 gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call
 Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and
 destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané
 cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the
 Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted
 to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a
 Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
 175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
 648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
 passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
 Gi they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
 [567] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been
 [727] killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
 were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
 Ce peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
 [648] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
 [81] by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

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G1 continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially
175 those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these
648 as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When
[567] Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were
[127] coming to make war upon the Indians of Pocho or of Misque,
but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break
off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the
frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru
to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found
a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions
of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the
Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but
later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to
rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso
and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over
the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves.
In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and
Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took
Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia
in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against
the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among
many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had
also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the
Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

17 cont. / By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacociés (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacociés, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacociés (Chamacoco)

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

631 /83 cont./

[643] of Condorillo, we do not have any evidence as to whether this whole parcialidad was under the chieftainship of a great cacique.

[175] We only know that the town of Saigpuru was one of the most im-
 [627] portant and that it was the most feared by its enemies and that its
 [632] inhabitants were defeated in the year 1779 by Don Tomás Leso (314).

314. Moreno II, p. 244.

631 According to the reports written by the Governor of Santa Cruz,
 632 Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, the Province of "Yvytupue," that
 643 is, the region governed by the great cacique Vitupuera, was made
 103 up of five large subdivisions. As can be assumed from the report
 cited, these subdivisions were in part made up of one town and in
 part of several towns and were, with the exception of one, gov-
 erned by several caciques. Thus there is mentioned in the first
 place the subdivision "Taquirán and Caracará," probably meaning
 the towns which bear these names. As the caciques of this first
 subdivision, three are mentioned; thus the number of caciques does
 not correspond to the number of towns. Thus, we are not here
 dealing with a community which was established exclusively on a
 territorial basis. /84/ For the second subdivision three names are
 mentioned, Aguapea, Naípea, and Traibi. Thus it was probably
 made up of three towns. In this subdivision the number of towns,
 three, corresponds to the number of caciques. The third sub-
 division is called Tamborá. Thus it can be presumed that it con-
 sisted of but one town, and there is also mentioned but one cacique.
 The fourth subdivision is called Tendy, and three caciques of it are
 mentioned. It is stated that one of these caciques, called Abaqué,
 was the son of the cacique Tendy, thus of that cacique who gave
 his name to that subdivision. Of the fifth subdivision, Ayaguá or
 Cayaguá, as many as four caciques are mentioned (315).

315. Moreno II, pp. 123 and 124.

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846 but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

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349. See Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

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350. Nord. 1, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. 1, p. 210.

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From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

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352. Nord. 1, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

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Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the